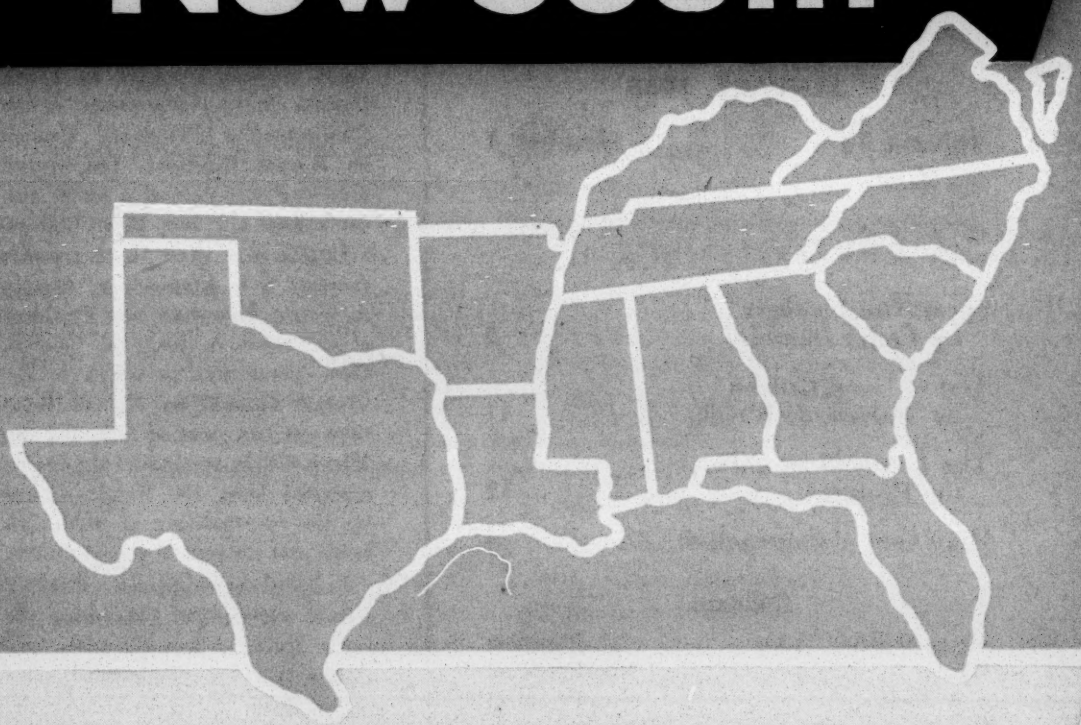
New South



- **Speak Out Strongly**
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- **The South Must Solve the Problem**
- **High Cost of Segregation**

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New South

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New South Notes

More and more, responsible people in the South are speaking out on the segregation question. A strong voice is what the progressive South needs today. In keeping with this, *New South* reprints a speech by Frank Daniels, M.D., vice-president of the Charlottesville (Virginia) Council on Human Relations. The speech presented was part of a senior survey course at Sweet Briar College.

In this issue, *New South* presents excerpts from a speech by Marion A. Wright, immediate past President of the Southern Regional Council. This speech was presented to the Georgia Council on Human Relations at its annual meeting in Macon, Ga. In portions of the speech reprinted here, Mr. Wright discusses the responsibility of public officials and the test of a good citizen.

Recently the *Bradenton* (Florida) *Herald* editorialized concerning the Little Rock, Arkansas, crisis and asserts that the South must solve the problem centered around the segregation controversy. In this forthright editorial, the newspaper editors keenly analyze the situation as it exists in the South today and add a hopeful note for a solution. This solution, says the *Herald* editors, (and we agree) must come from the South itself.

In conclusion, *New South* reprints an editorial from the *Nation* which deals with a subject that is beginning to emerge more and more in the current controversy. The topic—The High Cost of Segregation. In this editorial, the *Nation* lists several instances in which segregation and its by-products have cost the South. Unless an early solution is found, the South can expect to see a rise in the "high cost of segregation."

Speak Out Strongly*

By Frank Daniels

Vice-President, Charlottesville (Va.) Council on Human Relations

It is my purpose here this afternoon to discuss the need of the South for help and to point out at least one way in which we can help. I do not deny for a minute that to some extent, the same faults which exist in the South are also present in the North. Nevertheless, the problem is far more acute in the South and for that reason my remarks will be concerned mainly with that section of our country.

The South is in trouble and needs to be saved. In the first place we need to be saved from hypocrisy. To be a hypocrite is to lie to one's self as well as to others. Not only is it sinful, it is unhealthy. It creates inner tensions and causes illness which renders its victim less effective in all areas of his life. I believe that hypocrisy is to a considerable degree responsible for failure of the South to keep pace with the rest of the nation in nearly all areas of progress. Both in democracy and in religion, the majority of Southerners and many who live in the North are hypocrites.

We take pride in the fact that ours is a democratic country. We proclaim to the world that our government is of the people, by the people and for the people. We boast that in our country there is equal opportunity for all. Liberty and justice for all is one of our chief slogans. But where the Negro is concerned, we fall so short of living up to these ideals that we stand convicted of gross hypocrisy.

It does not change matters to point out that with respect to the large majority of the people in this country our avowed democratic principles hold true or that only one small segment of our country fails to live up to these democratic ideals. Democracy by its very definition demands that these principles shall apply to all people and when they do not, democracy no longer exists.

In the area of religion we are equally guilty of hypocrisy. It is interesting to read accounts of how Southern ministers in the period from 1800 to the Civil War tried to justify on religious grounds the institution of slavery as it was practiced in the South. They claimed that this was the Lord's way of bringing the heathen blacks into his fold and that slave owners were acting as God's agents. The Bible was quoted to justify segregation. They read from Acts, "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the

*Presented at Sweet Briar College

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(Continued)

bounds of their habitation" and from this concluded that God set certain bounds on man's habitation. Or from Genesis they read that Noah said, "Cursed be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren" and concluded that God had cursed the Negro race and said that they should be servants forever.

From our vantage point of today we can see the fallacy of their conclusions. Paul's statement that God decided when and where man shall live cannot by the wildest stretch of imagination be interpreted to support racial segregation. And to interpret Noah's curse on the descendants of Ham (who were not Negroes) as God's curse of Negroes makes no sense at all.

But there are many people who still claim that there is nothing unchristian about segregation.

Officially, however, all major denominations, Catholic and Protestant, have come out with strong statements that segregation is unchristian. The Bible plainly teaches that all men are equal in the sight of God and at no point justifies any distinction on the basis of color.

Therefore when we claim to be Christians and believe in the teachings of the Bible, it is hypocrtical to practice and advocate segregation. As in the case of democracy, Christianity does not truly exist where segregation is practiced.

We need to be saved from economic stagnation. It is not necessary to prove to you that economically the people of the South lag considerably behind the rest of the nation. Even the most ardent Southerners did not argue the point when Franklin Roosevelt referred to the South as the number one economic problem of the country. Unquestionably, the Civil War and the reconstruction period following it are to some extent responsible for this economic state but to blame it all on these events is to overlook some rather obvious factors.

Economic Potential

For nearly 100 years, approximately one-fourth of the people of the South have been systematically prevented from realizing their full potential economically. They have had poorer training for jobs and fewer opportunities to work. This systematic suppression of the Negro by the white man has deprived the South of realizing its full economic potential by considerably more than this twenty-five per cent. A fairly large amount of the white man's time, energy and money has been spent in accomplishing the suppression. Booker T. Washington said "The only way the white man can keep the Negro in the ditch is to stay there with him." The truth of this statement is evident today far more than when it was made.

By continuing to operate a dual school system the Southern states have so increased the cost of public education that even the white schools are generally inferior to those in other parts of the country. By keeping the wages paid to Negroes to the lowest possible point, the white man's earnings have been kept far below the national average. By denying to the Negro the access to the best medical care, the Southern white man has brought upon himself a health status well below the national standard.

By every standard which could be used there is abundant evidence that

the suppression of the Negro has resulted in a simultaneous and closely related suppression of the white man. The only possible way in which the South can realize its full economic potential is to discontinue this suppression.

We need to be saved from world domination by communism. Much as I dislike the present day tendency to identify anything which is not liked with communism, I cannot refrain from bringing this in here. Communist Russia is attempting to dominate the world and has been more successful than we like to admit. In the past twenty years, seventeen different countries have been taken over by the communists. In the same period, only one country has been changed from a communistic form of government to a democratic form. At the present time the two opposing forces are about equal. In military power and scientific achievement, the countries now under communist rule have about the same degree of development as those under democratic regime. Thus the balance of power lies in those countries which have not joined forces with either side. And in these countries at least two-thirds of the people are colored.

News Effect

It matters not that great progress is being made in this country in the field of race relations. News like that is not what makes the papers. Only the ugly things are told and one ugly thing is enough to offset the effect of a hundred good ones. If we are to win this war of ideals, we must stop giving the enemy such powerful ammunition as these reports of race strife.

In World War I, Woodrow Wilson rallied the soldiers to make the world safe for democracy. In an even more literal sense the people of this country and particularly of the South have an opportunity to win a still larger war for the same purpose and, best of all, to do so without bloodshed.

Hypocrisy

Therefore I say that we need to be saved—saved from democratic and religious hypocrisy, from economic stagnation and from world communism.

The problem of what we can do about it has occupied the time and minds of so many people for so long that my suggestion may seem presumptious and perhaps a little absurd. Admittedly it is an oversimplification of the problem. Nevertheless I think it worthy of consideration. It is my contention that the majority of Southerners would be convinced that segregation is wrong if they would realize the full meaning of the psychological effect of segregation. This may sound paradoxical but I am convinced that there are many Southerners who have never stopped and thought seriously about the race problem and that if we or anyone can succeed in getting them to do just that, stop and think, there would result a gradual but steady trend away from segregation.

For this reason, I am asking you to stop and think. Think for yourselves. This does not mean that you should not listen to others or read what has been written by others. You must do that. But you should accept nothing which does not seem reasonable to your thinking.

When I did this for myself I was astonished at the changes which took place in my ideas on the question.

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First of all it began to dawn on me that segregation is wrong and therefore should be stopped. It is wrong because it is contrary to democratic principles and to Christian belief. Many good persons professing to be Christians will, in all sincerity, argue that there is nothing wrong with segregation. They say that it is not discriminatory or unfair to have laws that separate one group of persons from another, that both groups are thereby restricted and no inequality results. They will agree that opportunities for the two groups should be equal and will usually admit that in practice generally the Negro's part was not equal. They will insist that good progress was being made toward equalization until the Supreme Court interfered. Therefore, they argue the Court should reverse itself and allow the states to continue to work toward the goal of separate but equal facilities.

Psychological

But these persons are failing to see what is by far the most serious result of segregation—namely the psychological effect. It is the failure to recognize this effect and to realize its full meaning that causes so many well meaning Southern people to advocate continuing segregation. A fine Christian Southern man once said to his Negro maid, "I don't see anything unfair in the way the Negro is treated. I am an average Southern man and I have never struck a Negro, I have never cheated a Negro, I have never cursed a Negro and what's more, I never will." The maid replied, "You are quite right, Sir. And you would do the same for your dog." Unless we stop and consider we are likely to be as unmindful of the psychological effect of segregation as that man was.

Guilt

Something I read more than fifteen years ago caused me to stop and think about this. Since then, I have reread it many times and with each reading the consciousness of my guilt and the guilt of most Southern white people has been re-emphasized. It was written by W. E. B. Dubois, a noted Negro writer and leader in his book, *Dusk of Dawn*. "It is difficult to let others see the full psychological meaning of caste segregation. It is as though one, looking out from a dark cave in a side of an impending mountain, sees the world passing and speaks to it; speaks courteously and persuasively, showing them how these entombed souls are hindered in their natural movement, expression and development; and how their loosening from prison would be a matter not simply of courtesy, sympathy and help to them, but aid to all the world. One talks on evenly and logically in this way, but notices that the passing throng does not even turn its head, or if it does, glances curiously and walks on. It gradually penetrates the minds of the prisoners that the people passing do not hear; that some thick sheet of invisible but horribly tangible plate glass is between them and the world. They get excited, they talk louder; they gesticulate. Some of the passing world stop in curiosity, these gesticulations seem so pointless; they laugh and pass on. They still either do not hear at all, or hear but dimly, and even what they hear they do not understand. Then the people within may

become hysterical. They may scream and hurl themselves against the barriers, hardly realizing in their bewilderment that they are screaming in a vacuum unheard and that their antics may actually seem funny to those outside looking in. They may even, here and there, break through in blood and disfigurement, and find themselves faced by a horrified, implacable and quite overwhelming mob of people frightened for their own very existence.

Painfully Human

"It is hard under such circumstances to be philosophical and calm, and to think through a method of approach and accommodation between castes. The entombed find themselves not simply trying to make the outer world understand their essential and common humanity but even more, as they become inured to their experience, they have to keep reminding themselves that the great and oppressing world outside is also real and human and in its essence honest. All my life I have had to continually haul my soul back and say, 'All white folk are not scoundrels or murderers. They are even as I am, painfully human'."

When a system produces that kind of reaction in the mind of any human being, that system is wrong. Mr. DuBois differs from other Negroes only in his ability to describe his feelings. A Negro high school girl was asked during World War II what she thought ought to be done to Hitler and her reply was, "Paint him black and bring him to the United States."

Like many another Southerner I once thought I knew Negroes. But when I became aware that Negroes were thinking thoughts like that, it dawned on me that I knew nothing about them. And yet it should not have been difficult for me to know that they would be thinking in that way. How would you or I feel and think if we were compelled to live under a system which caused us dozens of times every day to be reminded that we are considered inferior by most of the human beings with whom we live? How would we react if every simple greeting was couched in such a manner that it relegated us to an inferior status? How would we feel if we were denied admission to restaurants or hotels. How would we feel if our children were denied admission to the best schools, if we had to sit apart from others in a theater or were required to use different rest rooms and waiting rooms? Not because we had done anything wrong or failed to live up to some standard of conduct but simply because of the way God had made us? Wouldn't we be bitter? Wouldn't we have to remind ourselves that the persons who treated us in this way were not all murderers and scoundrels, that they are human also? Of course we would. We are human being just as Negroes are. And to react like that is to behave as normal human beings.

No Complaints

We often hear white Southerners saying that the average Southern Negro is happy and content with his lot, that only when Northern agiators or organizations like the N.A.A.C.P. come and arouse them do they begin to complain. I do not believe that this is so. Of course the average Negro in the South is not going to voice his complaints. No one

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(Continued)

knows better than he how dangerous such an action would be.

I've been working for the Negro cause for seventeen years and during all that time I can count on the fingers of one hand the number of times when a Negro has really opened up his heart to me on this subject. Even though they do not lack confidence in me, the reluctance to complain of his lot to a white man is so firmly entrenched in them that it is difficult to overcome.

There are other evils which result from segregation but none so great as the psychological effect. This alone is ample reason that the practice should be abolished. I am of the opinion that the majority of people in the South today would be in favor of doing away with segregation if only they could realize the full psychological effect. The problem is to get them to open their minds and ears. If only they would be willing to listen to reason, I believe that there is enough good will in the people of the South to accomplish this seemingly impossible task. In no other area that I know of is the old saying "There is none so blind as he who will not see" more true. They don't want to be persuaded and therefore they either refuse to think about it completely or they let their emotions completely blind their thinking.

Why is this so? Why does the average Southern white man refuse to use calm reasoning when it comes to the race problem? Is it hatred? In his book, *The Mind of the South*, Wm. J. Cash lists this as one of the prime factors. I do not agree with him. I do not believe that the maority of Southern whites actually hate the Negro people in general and certainly there is very little personal hatred involved. Many Southern whites claim that they love the Negro, and, while I admit that there is some emotional reaction in their appreciation of what they would call the "Southern darkey", I am quite sure that it is a far cry from what is ordinarily meant by the term love. But hatred implies a sense of ill will which is foreign to the average Southern white person. Some of the lower class white people may actually hate Negroes but these constitute a very small minority.

Fear

Far more important in the mind of the average Southern white people is the factor of fear. They are afraid of the things they have been told would happen if the Negro was granted full citizenship rights. They have believed what they have been told without really giving the matter any serious consideration. Of all the things they have been told, only one is worth considering, namely the statement that desegregation will lead to racial intermarriage. The fear of this one thing so dominates the entire picture that unless this fear is dispelled there is no hope of progress. All of us who have been raised in the South have been told over and over again since we were old enough to understand it that the reason white and Negro people had to be separated was because if this were not done there would be intermarriage. It has been stated as a fact, proved, inevitable and certain. No one seemed to question its validity. That so little serious thought

was given to it is a sad commentary on the intellectual curiosity of the South. Instead of trying to think it out for ourselves we have accepted what we were told and proceeded from that point.

It will help us if we stop and consider this one conclusion, namely that desegregation leads to intermarriage. We should try to interpret the future to some extent by the past. Is there evidence in history that intermarriage usually increases when desegregation takes place?

Unfortunately there is no situation in history from which we can draw very valid conclusions. The situation which exists in the South today is unique and history affords no true parallel. We can find that in the North where segregation practices have decreased there has been no change in the number of interracial marriages. Boston, for instance, has kept careful records for the past fifty years and a study of these shows that during this entire period there has been a steady decrease in the number and the percentage of interracial marriages. There is no historical evidence to support the conclusion that desegregation leads to intermarriage.

Human Nature

Another factor to be considered in attempting to interpret the future is human nature. Do people naturally behave in such a manner that such an eventuality is likely? In this case is it natural that people of markedly different tastes, different cultural backgrounds and different physical appearance should marry each other? Certainly there is no reason to believe that such is the case. Simply because they attend the same school, people are not going to change their natural instincts. And human nature is such that people seek out, associate with and eventually marry the people who are like them. To claim, therefore, that desegregation will lead to intermarriage is completely contrary to human nature. People just don't act that way.

Also there is the very obvious fact, apparently ignored by many Southerners, that marriage is a voluntary institution and requires the consent of both parties. If by chance a Negro girl should want to marry a white boy, marriage will result only if the white boy also wants it. As a Negro speaker I once heard said "The white people who predict intermarriage if racial barriers are lowered must have a very low opinion of their own children."

Intermarriage

The segregationists would have us believe that as soon as desegregation begins there would immediately take place a mad rush of intermarriage. In a conversation I recently heard in a barber shop the statement was made that in fifty years it would be necessary for people to produce certified papers to show whether they were white or colored. Despite the absurdity of such predictions it is amazing how many people will accept them as completely truthful.

We must remember that no change of laws can possibly remove ones right to choose his friends. And that choice is going to be determined by common interests, cultural background and to some extent by common physical appearance. It is unnatural to suppose that school desegregation will change any of that.

It is perfectly true that given the same opportunity for development that the Negro will gradually, in the cen-

turies to come, acquire interests and cultural background similar to those of whites. When that has occurred and if by then the social barriers which now exist are gone it is conceivable that some degree of intermarriage might occur. But we must remember that this will take place only in the far distant future and only if the general attitude toward intermarriage improves. As long as both white people and Negroes look with disfavor on marriage across racial lines there is not going to be any appreciable increase in this. Ask any intelligent Negro what he thinks of intermarriage and he will tell you that such a marriage has so little chance of being successful that he would advise against it.

Among the things which Negro leaders say the Negro wants is the right to marry whom he wants. But wanting the right to marry and wanting to marry are far from being the same thing. It is human nature to resent restrictions. It is also human nature to associate with people of like minds.

For those who cannot acceptably conceive of racial intermarriage even in the far distant future, it would be well for them to consider the fact that more than ninety per cent of those persons living today who have part white and part Negro ancestry have this not because of racial intermarriage but because of segregation. These persons owe their dual ancestry to the caste system, produced by segregation, which has allowed the white man to utilize the inferior status of the Negro woman in order to gratify his lust. It is quite logical to conclude that discontinuation of segregation, because it would remove this inferior status, would in the long run result in a considerable decrease in racial admixture.

It is for these reasons that I believe that there is no basis for the belief that desegregaton will lead to intermarriage. And if this belief is destroyed there is simultaneous destruction of the main foundation on which segregation is built. For it is fear of this one thing which causes the average Southerner to adhere stubbornly to a practice which he cannot justify on any other grounds.

By a calm consideration of these things we can do much toward making the idea of desegregation acceptable both to ourselves and to others. Until the idea is accepted by the majority of serious minded people no progress toward the goal can be made, but once the idea becomes acceptable then practical steps towards its realization can be taken.

Vital Question

My appeal to you as the leaders of the thinking people of the next forty years is that in all your consideration of this vital question you examine closely every conclusion you reach, examine them with a maximum of intellectual curiosity and a minimum of emotion. Believe nothing which your own reasoning cannot support. And most of all, I appeal to you to speak out. Do not allow statements which you believe untrue to go unchallenged. Speak out calmly but with authority. If the college students of today would begin now and continue to do just that for the rest of their lives, I am convinced the South will be saved and be proud of her achievement.

Test of Good Citizens*

By Marion A. Wright

. . . What is rule No. 1 of Communism, or Nazism or Fascism? It is give your people something to fear and then rescue them from the peril you have created. In Russia it was first Czarist element and then the large landowners, or Kulaks. In Germany it was a handful of Jews. In Italy it was the Capitalist class. In the South it is the Negro. Plant fear of the Negro in people's minds and they turn to you as their saviour.

Another rule is strangle or throttle the opposition so that it cannot be heard. Never give it the chance to present its views in fair and open debate. In your campaigns never discuss issues but smear the opposition. Hitler called them Jew-lovers. You know what our boys call them.

Another rule is harass and persecute the opposition. In Germany the Jews had to wear the Star of David; they had to register and carry passports. Their leaders were arrested and thrown into jail. Secret police spied upon them. Their phones were tapped. Their synagogues and homes were bombed while the authorities looked the other way. Does this sound to you a little like Georgia and the NAACP? Have I pushed the parallel an inch further than the facts justify?

If I have not—and I leave it to you to say—then certainly some of the resistance leaders are following the Moscow line. The tactics of such leaders do not seem to be repudiated by others more unctuous who wear an aura of respectability. And these are the fellows who say the Supreme Court of the United States is Communist inspired!

They say they detest Communism. But they imitate it. And, of course, you know what is the sincerest flattery.

So, we observe the already achieved results of the official policy of evading the law—results which I am sure were not in contemplation of those who fashioned the policy. Legal chicanery and subterfuge have sired economic boycott, suppression of thought and raw violence.

I ask you, as reasonable men and women, if other results are not in prospect unless the policy is reversed. Thus far, the legal subterfuges relate only to integration in our schools; boycott, suppression of thoughts and violence are directed only against advocates of compliance with school law. Will they stop there? If the rights of one minority group may thus be assailed, what about the rights of others? The Jews, the Catholics, the labor unions—any group that doesn't have the power of government in its hands. The rights of none of us are safe unless the rights of all are safe. When we sow the wind we shall inevitably reap the whirlwind.

There are many tests of the good citizen. None is more acid that his insitence that the other man's rights shall be respected as fully as his own . . .

*Excerpt of Speech Presented to Georgia Council on Human Relations

The South Must Solve the Problem

From
Bradenton (Fla.)
Herald

The battle cry of an outraged South today is raised against the use of armed force by the central government. The prevailing attitudes seems to be that integration of the schools is inevitable but "don't cram it down our throats."

Many Southerners will admit in private conversation that "right is right, no matter who it is" and that holding the Negro in a condition of second class citizenship is not right either morally, constitutionally, or under ordinary standards of fair play.

The South cries out against the federal court's consistent ruling that segregation must be abolished. "Give us time," the Southerner says.

But the fair-minded white Southerner must admit that he has had time, and almost universally has done nothing except seek ways to thwart the court's rulings.

The cure for the problem must come from the South itself. The only real cure can come from nowhere else. The central government can force integration here and there. It cannot force a change in man's mind. It cannot police every school, every bus, every Negro residential section in the South.

The South, on the other hand, cannot bomb every school, close every bus line, sell every golf course, and march into oblivion singing Dixie at the top of its voice.

It is time that the South began to do something about its problems.

It is time for the white South to look itself squarely in the face and admit that it is, by and large, responsible for its own problem. It is to blame for the push, push, push of the Negro race. It has so long maintained an attitude of no quarter on the question of race relations that the Negro has had no choice but to accept the challenge on that basis.

There still is time for compromise. But it must begin with the white people of the South.

The Negro has fought in the courts for that which he believed he had the best chance of getting. In the main, this boils down to the ballot and the class room.

He has fought for these because they are the entering wedges to what he really wants—a chance at a decent way of life for himself and his children.

The problem that faces the South today is not social, it is not educational, it is not recreational. It is economic.

The average Negro citizen of the South today wants the opportunity to make a decent living for himself, a decent home in which to rear his family, and a decent education for his children so that they, too, may make a decent living and have a decent home.

But the white South has insisted, by and large, that Negroes remain hewers of wood and haulers of water . . .

So the Negro has fought to get into the white man's voting booth and the white man's schoolhouse as a way to the white man's dollar.

The average Negro in the South today is not interested in getting into the white man's school so much as he is interested in getting into one that will properly train his children. He is not interested so much in going to the white man's beach as he is in going to one where he can enjoy God's gifts of sun, sand, and water as freely as his white brother. He is not interested so much is taking the white man's job as he is in getting one of his own that will provide a decent living. He is not interested so much in integration as a race as he is in acceptance as an individual . . .

There is an element of decency and fair-play that runs deep in the white South. It runs quietly today, and lies hidden beneath the surface storms. That element must now come to the front, brave whatever taunts and epithets may be hurled at it, and begin to work with the same element of fairness that is in the Negro South to achieve these better things.

With easing of the pressures that the Negro refuses to suffer much longer, there can come an equal easing of the pressures the Negro is exerting against the white South.

"Why is the world so bitter against Christians who are infected by racialism? Do not others also practice forms of discrimination? It is because the world knows that we are children of light who act like children of darkness. No other faith has affirmed the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man in the same tremendous fashion — the fashion of the Christ who suffered so that all may be one in him. Because of our great affirmation of brotherhood we are greatly condemned. Much is expected from those whom much has been given."

Shangran Devanesen

quoted in PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK

High Cost of Segregation

Reprinted from Nation

We offer, free of charge, the following suggestion as a subject for a doctoral thesis: The High Cost of Segregation in the South. Certain elements of this financial calculation are obvious: a double school system; separate toilets, restaurants and bars in transport terminals (an official of Southeastern Greyhound Lines notes that it costs 50 per cent more to build terminals with segregated facilities); separate entrances to movie houses; separate washrooms, cafeterias, drinking fountains in factories, etc., etc. But there are other costs no less great because they are less obvious. The *Wall Street Journal* tells of the purchase by Scripto, Inc., pen manufacturers, of forty acres in an Atlanta, Georgia, industrial zone for plant expansion. Then whites in a nearby residential area objected to the project because large numbers of Negro employees would have to pass through their streets to and from work: Results: litigation costs, time lost, re-zoning of the district to prevent the plant expansion, and a resale of the forty acres by Scripto at a $14,000 cash loss. Or take the case of a development board which finally persuaded a clothing manufacturer to settle in a small Georgia town. The project meant 200 jobs and an annual payroll of a half-million dollars. Then the town discovered the manufacturer intended to hire Negroes exclusively. Result: the town is still pure white, and the factory is elsewhere.

How many manufacturers are staying out of the South because of race tensions? W. Cooper Green, vice president of Alabama Power Company, told the *Wall Street Journal*: "We've been working with seventy-five prospects. If any of them are holding back on the integration-segregation issue, I don't think they'd tell us. If the news ever leaked out, it would be very bad publicity for them in the South, where they have customers."

We are reminded that the voters of Alabama, by popular referendum, recently voted in favor of gerry-mandering out of existence Macon County, home of Tuskegee Institute. The idea is to destroy the concentrated political strength of Macon County's Negroes, who outnumber the whites (see City Planning, Dixie Style by Dora Byron, *The Nation*, October 12.) How much did the state referendum cost? How much is it going to cost the white businessmen of Tuskegee and surrounding areas, whose shops are now being boycotted in protest by Negroes? As a Tuskegee Negro put it, "If they don't want our vote, why should they have our money?"

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"All too many ministers are still silent while evil rages. It may well be that the greatest tragedy of this period of social transition is not the glaring noisiness of the so-called bad people, but the appalling silence of the so-called good people."

Martin Luther King, Jr.
Quoted in PRESBYTERIAN OUTLOOK

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"While the climate of public opinion varies in different places, the churches in every community have a responsibility to challenge the conscience of society and work to improve race relations in this country."

Dr. J. Oscar Lee
Department of Cultural and Race Relations
National Council of Churches
Quoted in THE RELIGIOUS NEWSWEEKLY

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"There is a revolution on among our people. An alive student body should be enthused with the process. They should at least take sides in the struggle. Our Legislature has defied the United States Government, which supports the movements toward greater freedom. The State of Virginia needs young college-trained men, who have the courage to face change and the wisdom to lead along the path to greater freedom for all citizens."

Dr. David C. Wilson
Past President, Charlottesville-Albemarle Chapter of the Virginia Council on Human Relations
quoted in TRIBUNE

"We are living at a time at which we can get rid of the social disease of racism which has darkened the pages of American history and weakened this country both internally and in its relations with other nations. Whether we like it or not, the struggle against racism within this country has become identified with the world struggle of the darker people against colonialism. The colored peoples, both at home and abroad, so identify themselves, and America's whole position in the world is being affected by the domestic changes and events. What is most necessary in the current situation is to extend our perspective both in time and space."

Dr. Arnold M. Rose,
University of Minnesota
At Plenary Session, National Community Relations Advisory Council

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"First of all, let's get one thing straight. People aren't born prejudiced. There aren't any genes or chromosomes of prejudice which can be inherited from parents. There is nothing in a person's germ plasm which accounts for prejudiced behavior. Scientists can not find a shred of evidence that prejudice is inherited. Instead, all evidence clearly shows that prejudice is learned. After they are born, people learn whom they are expected to approve and disapprove. As the song from *South Pacific* puts it, 'you have to be taught to hate'."

Dr. William Van Til
in PREJUDICE—HOW DO PEOPLE GET THAT WAY